

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02 ARA-14 /051 W  
-----064602 202117Z /75

P R 202048Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8887

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 09551

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FOR IOP/M, IAA  
FROM ARS

E.O. 11652: N/A  
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION--HORN OF AFRICA

1. "MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS" (PRESTIGIOUS  
BUSINESS/COMMERCE WEEKLY) CARRIES FULL PAGE EDITORIAL  
MARCH 17 TITLED, "HORN OF AFRICA: A MILITARY 'SOLUTION'  
THAT SOLVES NOTHING." EXCERPTS FOLLOW:

2. "...IT IS TRADITIONAL THAT THE USSR TESTS THE CAPA-  
CITY OF ANY NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT, AT THE START OF HIS  
TERM OF OFFICE. IT IS TRUE THAT IT HAS PUT PRESIDENT  
CARTER, AND WITH HIM GREAT BRITAIN, ON THE DEFENSIVE.  
IT WOULD NOT BE BENEFICIAL FOR (THE USSR) TO FORCE THE  
UNITED STATES TO DEFINE OFFICIALLY THE LIMITS BEYOND  
WHICH (MOSCOW) WOULD RUN THE RISK OF REOPENING THE  
QUESTION OF DETENTE, FOR THE PRESERVATION OF WHICH  
AMERICA AND THE WEST HAVE JUST CAPITULATED AT BELGRADE.

3. "AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF ITS TROOPS FROM THE OGADEN,  
SOMALIA HAS BECOME ONCE AGAIN A COUNTRY 'ACCEPTABLE'  
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TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. MODERATE AFRICA, FRIGH-  
TENED BY THE MAGNITUDE OF THE SOVIET AND CUBAN INTER-  
VENTION IN AN AFRICAN CONFLICT, IS BEGINNING TO BE  
MORE UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING SOMALIA. KENYA'S AUTHO-  
RIZATION FOR RETREATING SOMALI TROOPS TO CROSS ITS  
TERRITORY IS, IN THIS REGARD, SIGNIFICANT. FINALLY, THE  
SOVIET UNION IS NOT ASSURED OF A SECURITY COUNCIL

MAJORITY ON ITS SIDE IF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL DECIDED TO PUT THE PROBLEM BEFORE IT AFTER PUBLICLY REGRETING HAVING BEEN PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, WHO WERE WAITING FOR RESULTS OF AN OAU MEDIATION THAT PROVED FRUITLESS.

4. "IT IS DRAMATIC THAT AFRICA HAS NOT, FOR THE MOMENT, ANY MEANS OF INTERVENTION OTHER THAN A CALL FOR A SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION AND GOOD WILL ON THE PART OF COUNTRIES SEPARATED BY DIFFERENCES GREAT ENOUGH FOR THEM TO CONSIDER SOLVING THEM BY ARMS. THE OAU WOULD FIND ITSELF STRENGTHENED IN THE FUTURE IF THE UNITED STATES FOLLOWED UP ON ITS SUGGESTION, TO WHICH THE SOVIET UNION SEEMS NOT OPPOSED, TO SET UP A NEUTRAL PEACEKEEPING MILITARY FORCE UNDER (THE OAU'S) CONTROL. THIS FORCE WOULD BE STATIONED IN THE OGADEN, AND IT WOULD HAVE AS ITS MISSION THE PREVENTION OF POSSIBLE ETHIOPIAN REPRISALS AGAINST THE POPULATION AND THE REBELS, WHICH THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES HAVE RECOGNIZED WITHOUT AMBIGUITY AS BEING ETHNIC SOMALIS." END EXCERPTS.

5. "JEUNE AFRIQUE" CARRIES AN EDITORIAL BY PUBLISHER BECHIR BEN YAHMED, IN WHICH HE DISCUSSES THE ROLE OF CUBA IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND IN AFRICA GENERALLY. EXCERPTS:  
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6. "I HAVE WRITTEN THAT (CUBA) HAS, UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, THE ABSOLUTE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN AFRICA. AS MUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, FRANCE. THE QUESTION IS THEREFORE NOT IN THAT SENSE, BUT RATHER IN THAT OF THAT COUNTRY'S CAPACITIES AND OF THE RIGHT OF ITS LEADERS TO ENGAGE IT INDEFINITELY IN AFRICAN THEATERS OF OPERATION, ONE AFTER THE OTHER: YESTERDAY, ANGOLA; TODAY, ETHIOPIA; TOMORROW, RHODESIA.

7. "CUBA, AS FEW REALIZE, IS ONLY A SMALL AND RATHER POOR ISLAND: 9 MILLION HABITANTS WHOSE AVERAGE INCOME IS ABOUT OF TUNISIAN OR ALGERIAN (AND GROWS LESS RAPIDLY). ITS NATURAL ZONE OF COOPERATION IS OF COURSE AMERICA (SOUTH, CENTRAL, AND NORTH). IS IT "WISE" FOR IT TO TURN ITS BACK THEREON IN ORDER TO SINK DEEPER AND DEEPER IN AFRICA, WHERE ITS ARMY, ITS MEDICAL PERSONNEL, ITS ENGINEERS ARE CAUGHT UP BY THE MOVING SANDS?

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8. "HAVE NOT THE LEADERS OF THIS WORTHY LITTLE COUNTRY,  
WHICH CALLS ITSELF BY THE WAY "NON-ALIGNED", ENTE-  
RED THE AREA OF ADVERTURISM? IN ORDER TO RUB SHOULDERS  
WITH THE "TWO GREAT POWERS", HAS FIDEL CASTRO NOT LOST  
THE MEASURE OF HIS COUNTRY, WHILE WAITING TO LOSE  
BALANCE?

9. "THIS WOULD BE A SHAME FOR AN HISTORIC FIGURE  
WHOSE IMPACT ON CUBA, LATIN AMERICA, AND THE THIRD  
WORLD HAS BEEN UNTIL NOW, ON THE WHOLE, POSITIVE."  
END EXCERPTS.

10. "L'ECHO DE L'AFRIQUE" (WEEKLY NEWSLETTER, SUPPORTIVE  
OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT, ANTI-SOVIET AND GENERALLY SCEPTICAL  
OF US) CARRIES ANALYSIS OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN AFRICA.  
EXCERPTS:

11. "THE KREMLIN LEADERS NO LONGER INSIST MERELY ON  
IDEOLOGICAL ALLEGIANCE FROM THE THIRD WORLD ALLIES, BUT  
ALSO THAT THEY SERVE BLINDLY AND ACTIVELY (SOVIET)  
STRATEGY, ON BEHALF OF A "DUTY TOWARD INTERNATIONAL  
SOLIDARITY," WHICH IS NOTHING OTHER, IN THEIR MINDS, THAN  
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AN UNCONDITIONAL ADHERENCE TO THE CAUSE OF SOVIET POWER.  
IN THIS REGARD, WE KNOW TODAY THAT THE RUPTURE BETWEEN  
MOSCOW AND MOGADISCIO BEGAN WELL PRIOR TO THE "SOVIETI-  
ZATION" OF ETHIOPIA, THAT IT DATES FROM  
SOMALIA'S ADHESION TO THE ARAB LEAGUE AND THE REFUSAL OF  
PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH A GIANT  
PLAN OF DESTABILIZATION AIMED AT AFRICA'S EAST COAST  
(KENYA WAS THE FIRST GOAL), THE RED SEA (SUDAN, EGYPT,  
SAUDI ARABIA), AND VIA SOUTH YEMEN, THE PERSIAN GULF.

12. "FROM THE MOMENT THE USSR INTERVENES PHYSICALLY, IT  
IS CLEAR THAT ONLY ONE THING CAN DISSUADE IT FROM PUSHING  
ITS ADVANTAGE TOO FAR: THE PHYSICAL INVOLVEMENT OF THE  
OTHER SUPERPOWER, OR AT LEAST A MIDDLE SIZED NUCLEAR  
POWER.

13. "COROLLARY: FROM THE MOMENT WHEN THE OTHER SUPER-  
POWER BASES ITS POLICY ON A REFUSAL TO BECOME ENGAGED  
PHYSICALLY IN AFRICA, REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAPPENS,  
ITS PROTESTS, ITS DIPLOMATIC MANEUVERS, ITS WARNINGS  
HAVE NO EFFECT." END EXCERPTS.

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